

HISTORICAL  
REMARKS  
AND  
ANECDOTES  
ON THE CASTLE OF THE  
BASTILLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH  
PUBLISHED IN 1774.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

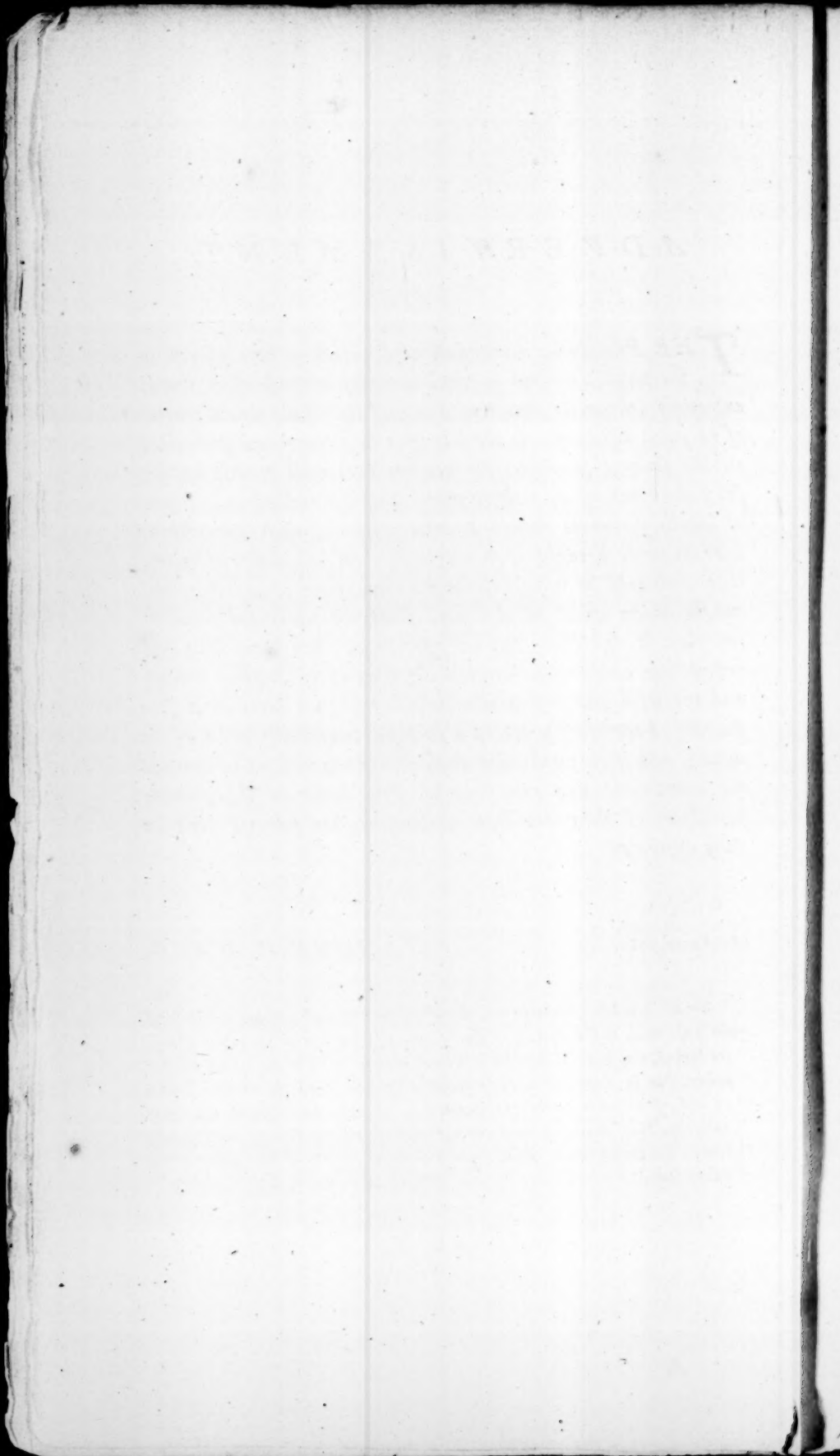
**T**HE Pamphlet, a translation of which is here offered to the public, excited so much curiosity abroad, that I was extremely desirous of obtaining a copy of it. This was a matter of no small difficulty; as the sale of it in France was prohibited on the severest penalties, for reasons that will readily appear from the work itself. After many fruitless endeavours, I was at length fortunate enough to meet with it; and, not without some hazard, brought it to England. It soon occurred to me, that it would be acceptable to my countrymen: and this, not merely as an object of curiosity, from the celebrated name of the place it describes, but as affording a very interesting and instructive comparison between the horrors of despotic power, and the mild and just administration of equal laws in a free state.\* I therefore procured a faithful translation of it to be made; and if its publication shall in any degree tend to increase the attachment and reverence of Englishmen to the genuine principles of their excellent constitution, my purpose will be fully answered.

Cardington,  
BEDFORDSHIRE,  
March 27th, 1780.

JOHN HOWARD.

\* Sir William Blackstone observes, that the preservation of personal liberty is of great importance to the public; "for if once it were left in the power of any, the highest, magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practised by the crown) there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities. I have been assured upon good authority, that, during the mild administration of cardinal Fleury, above 54,000 lettres de cachet were issued, upon the single ground of the famous bulle "unigenitus."

COMMENTARIES, Book I. Chap. I.





## THE FRENCH EDITOR'S

### P R E F A C E.

SINCE the mortal wound was given to French liberty,\* Despotism, that scourge of human nature, which it debases and dishonours, has acquired strength by striking at all ranks, and spreading a general terror. Nothing is heard of but banishments, proscriptions, and prisons; of which last the Bastille is undoubtedly the most formidable. The employment of spies and informers, who execute their office so extensively and accurately, ought to alarm every citizen with apprehensions of becoming an inhabitant of this abode of horror and tears.

M. de Saintfoi has said, *that on this subject it is safer to be silent than to speak*. I agree with him, that it is safest for the historian; but it is not the most advantageous either for the present generation, or for posterity. I have not, therefore, hesitated to sacrifice my own security to the necessity of exciting my fellow-citizens to cast their eyes on the chains with which they have been loaded during three successive reigns.

Henry IV. was the darling of his subjects. His memory will ever be the object of the national veneration. It was under his successor that liberty received the first stroke.

Richieu, who reigned under the name of Lewis XIII. filled the fortresses and prisons. He had caused to be

\* In the years 1770 and 1771.

## P R E F A C E.

constructed even in his own house a *vade in pace*, where he frequently sacrificed victims to his tyranny.

History presents few reigns in which more violences and cruelties have been exercised, than that of Lewis XIV. Flattery conferred on him the name of *Great*; but posterity has erased a title, he so little merited. It beholds in this prince no other than a despot, without principle, tyrannised over by his passions, vain, ambitious, turbulent, and often cruel.

During the last reign, which was characterised by weakness, inefficacy, and contradictions, ministers erected despotism into a law. *Lettres de cachet*, vexations of all kinds, were their engines. They obstinately combated the laws of the kingdom; and concluded with dispersing and proscribing all who administered them. It may therefore truly be said, that imprisonment, and exile, were the great instruments of government in the last, as well as in the two preceding reigns.

Since, then, the arbitrary will of the prince, or rather of those who reign in his name, holds the place of law, the Bastille will probably be more filled than ever. It is, therefore, very important, that this castle, the rules by which it is governed, the sufferings which prisoners have undergone in it, the interrogations, surprizes, snares, and violences to which they are exposed, should be generally known. On this account I present to the public this interesting piece, in the state in which it was bequeathed me by the author, some time since deceased. With respect to the *plan*, it was drawn by himself on the spot.

God grant that his labours may be rendered useless to my countrymen, by inspiring our young monarch with a horror of despotism, and a love for those laws which are the guarantees of his security, and that of the nation.

HISTORICAL

REMARKS AND ANECDOTES ON

THE CASTLE OF THE BASTILLE,

AND THE

FRENCH INQUISITION.

**T**HE Bastille, at its foundation, was the entrance of Paris on the side of the suburbs of *St. Antoine*. It consisted of only two towers. Hugh Aubriot,\* provost of Paris, to whom the construction of the new enclosure and of the fortifications of the city under Charles V. was committed, formed the plan of this castle, and laid the first stone April 22, 1369. The two towers served for a defence against the English. Afterwards, two towers of retreat, behind and parallel to the first, were erected; and thus the entrance into Paris was protracted between four detached

\* Hugh Aubriot, born at Dijon of obscure parents, was provost of Paris, and minister of the finances, under Charles V. He built the bridge anciently called the *Grand Pont*, now the *Pont au Change*. The walls of the gate *St. Antoine* on the banks of the Seine, the *Pont St. Michel*, and the *Petit-Châtelet*, are monuments of his attention to the public good. This last edifice was erected to bridle the licentiousness of the fellows and students in the university. Aubriot was the first inventor of subterraneous canals for draining off water. The clergy, united with the members of the university, conspired his ruin. They accused him of impiety and heresy. The partisans of the house of Orleans, which was at enmity with that of Burgundy, to which he was attached, declared against him. He was first shut up in the Bastille, which he had just built; and afterwards was removed to the prison of the bishoprick, called *l'Oubliette*. By means of intrigues, his enemies got him condemned to pass the rest of his days there. At the commencement

detached towers, and a double bridge. The remains of the first bridge still continue. This edifice was not entirely finished till the reign of Charles VI. about the year 1383. This king caused four new towers to be added at equal distances. Apartments were made between the towers, in the thickness of the walls. The bridges were taken away: a dry ditch, twenty-five feet deep from the level of the street, surrounded the eight towers; and an enclosure was formed on the other side of it. The public road was turned on the outside, as it is at present. The bulwarks and ditches which now encompass it, were not constructed till 1634.

The castle of the Bastille is situated on the left bank of the Seine (as you ascend the river) near the arsenal. Its entrance is at the end of the street *St. Antoine*, to the right. An advanced guard is stationed there, with a sentry day and night. Near the guard-room are draw-bridges, with a great gate, and a wicket, leading to the court of the *Hôtel du Gouvernement*. This is a modern building, separated from the castle by a ditch, over which are second draw-bridges, which must be passed to arrive at a second pair of gates, near which is another guard-room. Beyond this, is a strong barrier, a *clair-voje*, formed of beams plated with iron, and very high, which separates the guard-room from the great court. Before you reach this, you must pass two draw-bridges, and five gates, all of which have sentries, and three posts of guards. This court forms a square of about one hundred and twenty feet by eighty, in which is a fountain.

of the reign of Charles VI. in 1381, the people rose against the imposts. Led by Caboche, a skinner, the mutineers forced the gates of the *Hôtel de Ville* to procure arms, and took out three or four thousand iron maces (*maillets*) whence they acquired the name of *Maillotins*. They broke open the prison in which Aubriot had been languishing for several months, chose him for their chief, and compelled him to accept the command. He made use of this favour of fortune to withdraw secretly. On that very night he passed the Seine, and fled into Burgundy, where he lived unknown to his enemies, and finished his days in repose. *Chronologie Manuscrite de la Bibliothèque Royale.* ---Hugh Aubriot was of the same family with John Aubriot of Dijon, bishop of Chalons from the year 1342 to 1350.

On

On entering by the barrier, to the right are apartments in which the subaltern officers lodge, and sometimes even such of the prisoners as are less restricted than the rest. Near this<sup>3</sup> building is the *Tour de la Comté*; and next, the *Tour de Tresor* (Treasury tower) so called from its being the deposit of the money amassed by the Duc de Sully for the grand project of Henry IV. After this tower, near the middle of the court, is an arcade which anciently served for the city gate. In this, several lodging-rooms are contrived. Next, is the body of the old chapel, converted into several chambers for prisoners. At the angle of the court is the *Tour de la Chapelle* (Chapel-tower.) This, and the *Tour de Tresor*, are the most ancient of the towers.

Walls of ten feet thickness in solid masonry, raised to the height of the towers, unite them, and are contiguous to many apartments for prisoners constructed in the interstices. At the bottom of the court is a large modern house, which separates it from a smaller court called *Cour du Puits* (Well-court.) In the centre of this building is a stone staircase of five steps, leading to the principal door. Within this you find the staircase to the upper apartments, and an entry terminating in the second court. On the right is the vestibule of the hall, where the ministers, the lieutenant of the police, or the commissioners, interrogate the prisoners. This is called the *Salle du Conseil* (Council-chamber.) Here prisoners generally receive the visits of strangers. At the farther end is a large press, in which the effects and papers taken from the prisoners are deposited. Behind the council-chamber are the lodgings of the subaltern officers, and of some turnkeys.

On the left, entering by the same staircase, are the kitchens, offices, and wash-house, which have double outlets into the *Cour du Puits*. There are three stories above, each of three rooms. The first and second serve for prisoners of distinction, or those who are sick.

The king's lieutenant has his apartment to the right, in the first story, above the council-chamber; the major lodges in the second, and the surgeon in the third.

On



On the other side of the great court, near the kitchens and the *Tour de la Liberté* (Liberty-tower) are apartments for prisoners, consisting each of a great chamber, and a closet looking towards Paris. The dungeons of this tower run under the kitchens. Next to this tower are ancient apartments, in which a little chapel has been constructed on the ground floor. There are five niches or closets in this chapel; three are hollowed out of the wall, the others are only in the wainscot. In these, prisoners are put one by one to hear mass. They can neither see nor be seen. The doors of these niches are secured on the outside by a lock and two bolts; within, they are iron-grated, and have glass windows towards the chapel, with curtains, which are drawn at the *Sanctus*, and closed again at the concluding prayer. Five prisoners being present at each mass, ten only can hear it each day. If there is a greater number in the castle, either they do not go to mass at all (which is generally the case with ecclesiastics, prisoners for life, and those who do not desire to go) or they attend alternately: because there are almost always some who have permission to go constantly.

On the side of the chapel, descending towards the barrier, are the *Tour de la Bertaudière*, and next to it, apartments for the adjutant, the captain of the gate, and some domestics, or turnkeys. In the angle near the barrier is the *Tour de la Bazinière*. To come to it, one must cross a little court or vestibule, which communicates with the guard-room by a very strong double door. This is the disposition of the six towers, and the buildings surrounding the great court.

Proceeding through the entry of the house which separates the two courts, you come to the *Cour du Puits*. At the further end of it, on the right, is the *Tour du Coin* (Corner-tower.) Between it, and the *Tour du Puits* (Well-tower) are old apartments in which the cooks, scullions and valets lodge; and likewise some chambers for prisoners, but which are very seldom used. The *Cour du Puits* is only twenty-five

five feet by fifty. In it is a large well for the use of the kitchen. The cooks throw their offal, and keep poultry in this little court, which makes it always dirty and offensive.

The outer face of the castle presents four towers towards Paris, and four towards the suburbs. The tops of the towers compose a continued platform in terraces solidly constructed, and kept in perfect repair. Those prisoners who have permission, walk here, but always accompanied by guards. There are thirteen pieces of cannon upon this platform, which are fired on days of solemnity, or public rejoicings.

In the plan, the *Tour du Puits*, which is towards the street *des Tournelles*, is marked the first. On going round the castle on the outside from this tower, we come to the entrance between the towers *de la Bazinière* and *la Comté*, and then to the other towers fronting the suburbs.

All the towers are closed below by strong double doors, with large bolts let into enormous locks. The dungeons under the towers are filled with a mud which exhales the most offensive scent. They are the resort of toads, newts, rats and spiders.\* In a corner of each is a camp bed, formed of iron bars, soldered into the wall, with some planks laid upon them. In these are put prisoners whom they wish to intimidate, and a little straw is given them for their bed. Two doors, each seven inches thick, one

\* It was in these dungeons that the tyrant Louis XI. confined those whom he was desirous of destroying by protracted sufferings; as the princes of Armagnac, who were buried in these dungeons in holes wrought in the masonry, the bottoms of which were in the form of sugar loaves, that their feet might have no resting place, nor their bodies any repose; and were, besides, taken out twice a week to be scourged in the presence of Phillip l'Huillier, governor of the Bastille, and every three months to have a tooth pulled out. The eldest of these princes lost his senses under this treatment. The younger was fortunate enough to be delivered by the death of Louis XI. and it is from his petition in 1483, that the truth of these facts has been learned, which could not have been believed, or even imagined, without so convincing a proof. See *Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvern. de la France, par le Comte de Boulainvilliers, Lettre XIV. Tom. III. p. 226.*

over the other, close these dark dens: each has two great bolts, and as many locks.

All the upper chambers are shut with the same care. There are four, one above another, in each tower, and a vaulted room above all, called the *Calotte* (Skull-cap.) All the inner doors are covered with iron plates, two or three lines thick.

There are five ranks of chambers. The most dreadful next to the dungeons, are those in which are *iron cages* or *dungeons*.\* Of these there are three. These cages are formed of beams lined with strong iron plates. They are six feet by eight.

The second rank of chambers designed for severity, are the *Calottes*. These rooms, which are the uppermost in the towers, are formed of eight arcades of masonry. One can only walk upright in the middle. There is scarcely room for a bed from one arcade to another. The distance of the window from its interior aperture is the whole thickness of the wall; about ten feet. There are iron bars before

\* The Count de Boulainvilliers (p. 224 of the work above cited) says, that Louis XI. cannot be affirmed to be the inventor of the iron cages and dungeons which are seen at the Bastille, and in the castles of *Blois*, *Bourges*, *Angers*, *Loches*, *Tours*, and *Mont-Saint-Michel*. The bishop of Verdun, according to Mezeray, was the inventor of these cages. He had caused one to be constructed in the castle of *Angers*, in which he was the first person confined, for ten or twelve years. Boulainvilliers says (p. 225) that he has seen with his own eyes at *Chateau Duplessis-les-Tours*, the iron dungeon in which the Cardinal de la Ballue (imprisoned about 1430) was shut up eleven years by order of Louis XI. The walls, floor, ceiling, door, wicket for putting in provisions and emptying out filth, are all iron plates fastened upon great bars of the same metal. Louis XI. had two of these built at his castle of *Loches*. Lodovico Sforza, duke of Milan, having been taken prisoner in a battle against Louis XII. on April 10, 1500, was shut up in one of the iron cages of the castle of *Loches*, where he ended his days. *Observations Hist. & Crit.* relative to the Hist. of Charles VIII. in the Collection of Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, p. 238, in 4to.

Louis XII. himself, while duke of Orleans, was made prisoner in 1488, at the battle of St. Aubin-du Cormier, in *Bretagne*; and after being removed from prison to prison, he was shut up during three whole years in the castle of *Bourges*, and forced to lie in the iron cage.

the



the windows on the inside of these chambers, and counter-bars without. The *Calottes* have but little light. In summer, their heat is excessive; and in winter, their cold is insupportable. There are only stoves in the *Calottes*.\*

Almost all the chambers of the towers are octagonal, fourteen or fifteen feet high, and twenty in diameter; with very high chimneys. In most of them are three steps to ascend to the windows. All the windows have grates and counter-grates of iron. Many have a third grate in the middle of the thickness of the wall. The bars of the grates are of the size of the arm. The lower chambers look only on the ditches. The views from the higher ones are obscure and remote, on account of the distance of the outer aperture of the windows. The least disagreeable chambers have views of the country, of Paris, and of the ramparts. Although the windows of these chambers are double-grated, they are sufficiently light, as their apertures enlarge on the inside.

In many cases, the outer window-grates are covered with cloth, or else wooden shutters are fixed in such a manner that all view is intercepted from the prisoner.

\* The Count de Boulainvilliers further says (*Lettre XIV.*) that the Bastille was destined to prisoners, whose destruction was resolved either by apparent forms of justice, or by the punishment of the *Oubliettes*, a method much practised by Tristan-l'Hermite, provost of the *Hotel*, and companion of Louis XI. This man, of execrable memory, was himself judge, witness, and executioner. He caused the victims which were delivered to him by Louis to be placed on a trap-door, through which they fell on wheels armed with points and cutting edges: others were drowned with a stone about their necks, or stifled in dungeons. This tyrant put to death more than four thousand people in this manner. (*Mézerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV. and Commynes, Liv. VI. Ch. xii.*) During my residence at the Bastille, I never was able to get a view of the chamber of the *Oubliettes*; but I have seen in the castle of *Ruel*, which was Cardinal Richlieu's country seat, and at present belongs to the duke d'Aiguillon, a closet which still preserves the name of the *Cabinet-des Oubliettes*. This cruel minister caused the persons whom he had doomed to destruction to enter it; which they had scarcely done, when a trap-door in the floor opened under their feet, and they fell into a profound abyss.

Most

Most of the chambers have chimneys; others have stoves: the dungeons have neither. All the chimneys are grated above, and iron-barred below, and also in several other parts. Precautions have been multiplied to prevent communications. Formerly the prisoners conversed by the chimneys, or ascended them in hopes of escaping. Each tower has privies, which are grated at the different stories. Some apartments have these conveniences within them; the rest have the usual substitutes.

All these chambers are ill-closed, very cold and damp in winter. They are all *numbered*. They go by the name of their story, as their door presents itself to the right and left in ascending. Thus the *first Bazinière* is the first chamber in the tower of that name, above the dungeon; then comes the *second Bazinière*, the *third*, the *fourth*, and the *calotte Bazinière*. In the same manner, all the prisoners are called by the name of their tower, joined to the *number* of their chamber: so that the *Bastille name* of a prisoner is the *second Bazinière*, the *first Bertaudière*, the *fourth Comté*, the *third du Trésor*, &c.

The common chambers offer to view four bare walls, on which, however, are to be seen the names of prisoners who have been confined there, verses, devices, sentences, &c. A green serge bed with curtains, a straw bed with three coverlets, two tables, two pitchers of water, an iron fork, a pewter spoon, a goblet of the same metal, a brass candle-stick, iron snuffers, a chamber-pot, two or three chairs, and sometimes an old arm-chair, compose the total of furniture. Some chambers have andirons. Shovel and tongs are but seldom allowed. Each prisoner is provided with matches, a steel and flint, tinder, a candle a day, a broom every week, clean sheets every fortnight, and four napkins a week. Their linen is taken to the wash every week.

Three doors, one beyond another, are shut upon each prisoner. The noise of bolts, locks and keys is terrible. A turnkey has the charge of carrying the prisoners their meals, and taking away the remains, which are his own profit.

The

The aliment of the prisoners is regulated by a rate proportional to their quality. There are classes of fifty *livres per diem* (princes), of thirty *livres*, of twenty, of ten, of five, and of three. The lowest is of two *livres ten sous*; this is the rate for valets and attendants. In these are comprehended washing and candle; wood for fuel is a separate article.

The kitchen is served by a master cook, who is the governor's steward. He has under him a cook, a scullion, and a hewer of wood. All the dishes are scantily provided, and ill dressed. This is the governor's gold mine, whose income is augmented in proportion to the bad fare of the prisoners. Besides these immense profits, the governor has a hundred and fifty *livres per diem*, for fifteen supposed prisoners, at ten *livres* each, without prejudice to the daily rates of actual prisoners. These hundred and fifty *livres* are a supplementary revenue, or indemnification. To this are frequently added considerable gratuities.

On flesh days, the prisoners have daily a soup, a *bouilli*,\* and an *entrée*;† on meager days, a soup, a dish of fish, and two *entrées*. In the evening, on flesh days, they have a slice of roast meat, a ragout, and a salad; on meager days, a plate of eggs, and one of vegetables. The variations in the bill of fare from five to ten *livres* are inconsiderable. They consist of half a consumptive chicken, a pigeon, a leveret tasting of cabbage, or some little birds, and a dessert, each article of which does not cost two *sous*.

On Sundays, the dinner is bad soup, a slice of boiled veal under the name of beef, and four *petits patés*; the supper, a slice of roast meat (cow-beef, veal, or mutton) a small dish of *haricot* in which bones and turnips abound, and a salad. The oil they give turns the stomach: it is only fit for lamps. The suppers on flesh days are uniform. On Mondays, instead of the four *patés* is a *haricot*. On

\* A *bouilli* is the meat of which soup has been made.

† An *entrée* is a course of dishes served up between the *bouilli* and the dessert.

Tuesdays,

Tuesdays, at noon, a sausage, pigs pettitoes, or a thin pork steak. On Wednesdays, a small tart, either half-done or burned. On Thursdays, two little mutton steaks. On Fridays, at dinner, half a young carp fried or stewed, stinking ray, cod with butter and mustard, or some dry fried fish, with some vegetables, or a plate of eggs. At supper, a plate of eggs with brown butter, or *à la tripe*, and spinage with water or milk. Saturday is a repetition; and on Sunday the invariable round recommences.

On the days of St. Louis, St. Martin, and Epiphany, all the prisoners have an augmentation of their allowance, which consists of half a roasted chicken or a pigeon. On Carnival Monday they have a little tart.

Each prisoner has a pound of bread and a bottle of wine a day. The wine is flat and very bad. The dessert is an apple, a biscuit, some dry almonds and raisins lightly strewed on the bottom of a plate, some cherries, gooseberries, or plums in the season. The service is commonly pewter. Sometimes leave is obtained to be served in earthen ware, with a silver spoon and fork. If any one complains of the badness of the victuals, some change is made for a few days, but the complainant suffers for it in some other respect. There is no twelve *sous* (sixpenny) ordinary, in which one is not better served than at the Bastille. In general, the table kept there is very bad, the soup without strength, the provisions of the worst quality, and ill dressed. All this contributes much to ruin the health of prisoners, and cries for vengeance to God and man.

The officers of the staff have no inspection over the kitchen: this belongs to the governor alone. Some prisoners have obtained permission from the police to be served by a cook out of the castle, but this costs three times as much as in the city.

Common prisoners have five billets of wood a day to burn in winter. Those who are recommended have as much as they please. Many have attendants, whose pay is twenty *sous* a day and board besides.

There

There are only four turnkeys to the eight towers. Their name of *Porte-clefs* (key-bearers) is given on account of the monstrous bunches of keys they carry, there being five great ones to a single chamber.

At the time of meals, an armed sentinel is at the foot of each tower. During mass, a sentinel is at the chapel door, who is not posted till the prisoners are entered, and is removed before they come out.

The *staff* consists of a governor, whose place, besides his appointments from the court, is worth above forty thousand *livres* a year in profits on dieting the prisoners; a king's lieutenant, whose commission is sixty thousand *livres*, for which he receives five thousand *livres* a year; a major at four thousand *livres* a year; an adjutant at fifteen hundred; and a surgeon at twelve hundred, who makes great profit of medicines, furnished at the king's expence. The physician lives out of the prison, and has an apartment in the castle of the *Thuilleries*.

It is not above thirty years that things have been on this footing. Formerly, the governor and king's lieutenant were the only officers in the nomination of the king. The others were named by the governor, who might displace them at his pleasure. They had under them *archers* of the free companies, burghers paid by the governor for the guard of the castle. M. d'Argenson substituted to these a *staff*, with a company of invalids of one hundred men, which has two captains and one lieutenant. The private soldiers are clothed, provided with linen, shoes, salt, candle, and fire-wood, and have ten *sous* a day. The service is hard. The men cannot lie abroad without leave from the governor. Several obtain it; and the others perform the duty of the absentees, who give them half their pay. None of the officers can dine abroad without leave, or lie abroad without a written permission from the minister.

In the day-time, besides the five sentinels of the gates, there is one at the outer gate of the castle, in order to keep

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off



off inquisitive persons who might stop to view the entrance only.

The major has the charge of the pen. All the correspondence and accounts belong to him. He draws up accounts every month, and sends duplicates of them to the minister in whose department is the city of Paris, to the comptroller-general of the finances, and to the lieutenant-general of the police. These accounts contain the number, the names of all the prisoners, and the estimate of expences. This officer receives the money from the comptroller-general, and makes the payments. The general expence, *communibus annis*, amounts to more than one hundred thousand *livres*.

The castle is encompassed by a ditch about one hundred and twenty feet wide. It is dry, except after great inundations of the Seine, and abundant rains. The ditch is surrounded with a wall sixty feet high, to which is fixed a wooden gallery with a balustrade, which runs round the whole circuit of the ditch opposite the castle. This is called *the rounds*. Two staircases to the right and left in front of the grand guard lead to these rounds. Sentinels are placed here day and night, who walk about continually, and examine if the prisoners make any attempts to escape. During the night, four sentinels at a time are stationed on these rounds. The officers and serjeants take their rounds every quarter of an hour, and by their *qui vive* assure themselves that all the sentinels are awake. Each has his appointed instant of going his rounds. All have pieces of copper numbered and perforated, which they slide upon a pin, the base of which is fixed into the bottom of a padlocked box, such as is used in garrisoned towns. This box is carried every morning to the staff-officers, who open it, examine the order of the copper pieces, and thereby judge of the exactness or defect of the rounds. At the same time an account is given to the king's lieutenant and the major of all that has been seen, heard, or observed during

during the night. All that has passed within or without is reported, and exactly written down.

Night and day, the sentinel within the castle rings a bell at every hour, to give notice that he is awake. Besides this bell, one is rung on the rounds every quarter of an hour in the night-time. Guard is mounted at eleven in the morning. The tattoo is beat at nine in the evening in winter, and at ten in summer. The bridges are drawn up between ten and eleven in the evening. All is opened at any hour, when an order arrives from the king.

The principal chaplain of the Bastille has a salary of twelve hundred *livres*. He says mass every day at nine in the morning. There are two sub-chaplains, who have only four hundred *livres* a year each. They say mass only on Sundays and holidays, one at ten, the other between twelve and one. This last mass is properly the governor's; the prisoners do not attend it, unless they are privileged. Besides the chaplain and sub-chaplains, there is a titular confessor, who has nine hundred *livres* a year. The old domestics who have retired, have pensions.

This fortress is capable of containing forty prisoners in separate apartments. When they are numerous, they have necessarily less liberty of walking. There are at present four prisoners for life, who are become more or less distracted. One has been confined ever since the affair of Damien (1757).

Without the castle, towards the suburbs of *Saint Antoine*, is a large bastion detached from the body of the castle. This was formerly one of the bulwarks of the ancient entrance of Paris. It is planted with trees, and made into a garden. The gate of the way leading to it is between the towers *du Tresor* and *de la Comté*.

On the left of the Bastille is the gate *Saint Antoine*. This is flanked by a bastion parallel to that which is now the castle garden.

The lieutenant-general of the police of Paris is the sub-delegate of the ministry for the department of the Bastille.

He has under him a titular commissary, who is called the commissary of the Bastille. He has a fixed salary for drawing up what are called *instructions*, but he does not do this exclusively. He has no inspection nor function but in cases where he receives orders; the reason of which is, that all that is done in this castle is arbitrary.

Every prisoner on coming to the Bastille has an inventory made of every thing about him. His trunks, clothes, linen, and pockets are searched, to discover whether there are any papers in them relative to the matter for which he is apprehended. It is not usual to search persons of a certain rank; but they are asked for their knives, razors, scissors, watches, canes, jewels, and money. After this examination, the prisoner is conducted into an apartment where he is locked up within three doors. They who have no servants make their own bed and fire. The hour of dining is eleven; and of supping, six.

At the beginning of their confinement, they have neither books, ink or paper; they go neither to mafs, nor on the walks; they are not allowed to write to any one, not even to the lieutenant of the police, on whom all depends, and of whom permission must first be asked by means of the major, who seldom refuses. At first they go to mafs only every other Sunday. When a person has obtained leave to write to the lieutenant of the police, he may ask his permission to write to his family, and to receive their answers; to have with him his servant or an attendant, &c. which requests are either granted, or refused, according to circumstances. Nothing can be obtained but through this channel.

The officers of the staff take the charge of conveying the letters of the prisoners to the police. They are sent regularly at noon and at night: but if they desire it, their letters are sent at any hour by expresses who are paid out of the money of those who are confined. The answers are always addressed to the major, who communicates them



them to the prisoner. If no notice is taken of any request contained in the letter of the prisoner, it is a refusal. The attendants whom they appoint for those who are not allowed their own servants, or who have none of their own, are commonly invalid soldiers. These people lie near the prisoners, and wait upon them. A person ought always to be upon his guard with these men, as well as with the turnkeys; for all his words are noticed, and carried to the officers, who report them to the police: it is thus they study the characters of the prisoners. In this castle, all is mystery, trick, artifice, snare, and treachery. The officers, attendants, turnkeys and valets often attempt to draw a man on to speak against the government, and then inform of all.

Sometimes a prisoner obtains permission of having books, his watch, knife, and razors, and even paper and ink. He may ask to see the lieutenant of the police when he comes to the Bastille. This officer commonly causes prisoners to be brought down some days after their arrival. Sometimes he goes to visit them in their chambers; especially the ladies.

When the lieutenant of the police sees a prisoner, the conversation turns upon the cause of his confinement. He sometimes asks for written and signed declarations. In general, as much circumspection should be used in these conferences, as in the examination itself, since nothing that a person may have said or written is forgot.

When a prisoner wants to transmit any thing to the lieutenant of the police, it is always by means of the major. Notes may be sent to this officer by the turnkeys. A person is never anticipated in any thing—he must ask for every thing; even for permission to be shaved. This office is performed by the surgeon; who also furnishes sick or indisposed prisoners with sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, confections, and the necessary remedies.

The time for walking is an hour a day ; sometimes an hour in the morning, and an hour in the evening, in the great court.

A prisoner may be interrogated a few days after his entrance into the Bastille ; but frequently this is not done till after some weeks. Sometimes he is previously informed of the day when this is to be done ; often he is only acquainted with it the moment he is brought down to the council-chamber. This commission of interrogatory is executed by the lieutenant of the police, a counsellor of state, a master of requests, a counsellor or a commissioner of the *Châtelet*. When the lieutenant of the police does not himself interrogate, he usually comes at the end of the examination.

These commissioners are purely passive beings. Frequently they attempt to frighten a prisoner : they lay snares for him, and employ the meanest artifices to get a confession from him. They pretend proofs, exhibit papers without suffering him to read them, asserting that they are instruments of unavoidable conviction. Their interrogatories are always vague. They turn not only on the prisoner's words and actions, but on his most secret thoughts, and on the discourse and conduct of persons of his acquaintance whom it is wished to bring into question.

The examiners tell a prisoner that his life is at stake ; that this day his fate depends upon himself ; that if he will make a fair declaration, they are authorised to promise him a speedy release, but if he refuses to confess, he will be given up to a special commission ; that they are in possession of decisive documents, of authentic proofs, more than sufficient to ruin him ; that his accomplices have discovered all ; that the government has unknown resources of which he can have no suspicion. They fatigue prisoners by varied and infinitely multiplied interrogatories. According to the persons, they employ promises, caresses, and menaces. Sometimes they use insults, and treat the unhappy sufferers with an insolence that fills up the measure

measure of that tyranny of which they are the base instruments.

If the prisoner makes the required confession, the commissioners then tell him that they have no precise authority for his enlargement, but that they have every reason to expect it; that they are going to solicit it, &c. The prisoner's confessions, far from bettering his condition, give occasion to new interrogatories, often lengthen his confinement, draw in the persons with whom he has had connexions, and expose himself to new vexations.

In certain cases, the *instructions* are drawn up by commissioners of the parliament, who hold their sessions at the *Hôtel du Gouvernement*, or at the arsenal. They never enter the inside of the Bastille. The difference which the ministry make between them, and the members of the council, or of the *Châtelet*, is, that the latter are *Royalists*, the others *Parliamentarians*. The royalists only are admitted within these precincts; the others never set their foot in them.

Prisoners never receive any visits from persons without, till the *instruction* is completed. In order to obtain this favour after the interrogatories, it must be requested with importunity and perseverance, and must be solicited by powerful friends without. A prisoner may ask for a longer time for walking, the privilege of walking on the towers or in the garden, of reading the newspapers and journals, of being associated with persons of their acquaintance, if there are any confined, and being allowed to eat and walk together. For all these, petitions must be written to the lieutenant of the police, and the governor. Many persons confined on account of the affairs of Canada, had permission to see each other. During the time of walking in the garden or on the towers, prisoners are always accompanied by under-officers of the invalids. Even the staff-officers often accompany those of a certain rank. In winter, they have them brought into the hall where they usually sit, and sometimes visit them in their chambers.

The governor also visits prisoners, especially when they are recommended to him. Conversations with all these officers ought to be well guarded, since every thing is observed and told.

Great precautions are taken to prevent prisoners from perceiving or meeting each other, or being seen by strangers who are admitted to visit any one. If during the time of walking in the court any person happens to pass through, the prisoner is taken into one of the closets on the level with the court, and not suffered to leave it till the person is gone. Prisoners are always locked up while in their chambers. The doors are opened only at the hours of mass, of walking, or of visiting; and they are shut immediately after.

In order to visit a prisoner, a written permission must be had from the lieutenant of the police. This is commonly in a letter addressed to the king's lieutenant, or the major. The number and duration of the visits are always fixed in it. These visits are always received in presence of the officers or turnkeys, that the prisoners may say or hear nothing interesting. The visitor is on one side of the chamber; the person visited, on the other; and the officer or turnkey, in the middle. This is the invariable rule. It is never permitted to speak of the cause of a prisoner's confinement, or of any thing which may have any relation to it.

For a prisoner to receive visits without witnesses, a permission from the minister and the lieutenant of the police is requisite, which is scarcely ever obtained. The officers of the staff are entirely subordinate: they can grant a prisoner nothing without the express authority of the minister, through the lieutenant of the police. Every day the major gives an account in writing to the lieutenant of the police, of the state of the prisoners, of the visits they have received, of every thing important that has been said, heard, or done in the castle.

Although there are rules for all occasions, yet every thing is subject to exceptions arising from influence, recommendations,

recommendations, protection, intrigue, &c. because the first principle in this place is arbitrary will. Very frequently, persons confined on the same account are treated very differently, according as their recommendations are more or less considerable.

There is a library, founded by a foreign prisoner who died in the Bastille at the beginning of the present century. Some prisoners obtain leave to go to it; others, to have the books carried to their chambers.

The falsest things are told the prisoners with an air of sincerity and concern. "It is very unfortunate that the king has been prejudiced against you. His majesty cannot hear your name mentioned without being irritated. The affair for which you have lost your liberty is only a pretext—they had designs against you before—you have powerful enemies." These discourses are the etiquette of the place.

It would be in vain for a prisoner to ask leave to write to the king—he can never obtain it.

The perpetual and most insupportable torment of this cruel and odious inquisition, are vague, indeterminate, false or equivocal promises, inexhaustible and constantly deceitful hopes of a speedy release, exhortations to patience, and blind conjectures, of which the lieutenant of the police and officers are very lavish.

To cover the odium of the barbarities exercised here, and slacken the zeal of relations or patrons, the most absurd and contradictory slanders against a prisoner are frequently published. The true causes of imprisonment, and real obstacles to release, are concealed. These resources, which are infinitely varied, are inexhaustible.

There is a great closet, filled with very large presses, divided into cases, ticketed with the *numbers* of all the apartments of the castle. The effects of each prisoner are deposited in the case corresponding to the number of his chamber.

At



At the arrival of each prisoner, there is entered in a book his name and rank, the number of the apartment he is to occupy, and the catalogue of his effects deposited in the case of the same number. The book is then presented to the prisoner to sign.

The book of discharge contains the form of an oath and protestation of submission, respect, fidelity, love, and *gratitude* to the king; an assurance that the actions which have brought the prisoner into trouble were the effect of error alone; an acknowledgment of thanks that his majesty has not delivered him to *commissioners extraordinary*; and a promise to reveal nothing that he has seen or heard during his abode in the Bastille. This form, which every prisoner is obliged to sign before his dismissal, contains also a receipt for his jewels, money, and other effects.

A third book in sheets contains the names of all the prisoners, and the rate of their expence. A copy of this book passes every month under the minister's inspection.

The account of the particulars of the daily expence is only for the eyes of the governor, and the master-cook his steward: the major does not inspect it.

The fourth book is an immense folio, or rather a series of loose sheets, which augments every day. These sheets are contained in a very large port-folio of morocco, with a lock and key, which is besides enclosed in a double pasteboard case. They are divided into columns, each having printed titles.

Column I. Names and ranks of prisoners.

II. Dates of prisoners arrival at the castle.

III. Names of secretaries of state who have issued the orders.

IV. Dates of prisoners discharge.

V. Names of secretaries of state who have signed orders for release.

VI. Causes of the confinement of prisoners.

VII. Observations and remarks.

The

The major fills the sixth column according to the information he may have, and the lieutenant of the police gives him instructions when he pleases, and how he pleases. The seventh column contains an historical relation of the actions, characters, lives, manners, and ends of prisoners. These two columns are a kind of secret memoirs, the matter and truth of which depend on the just or false judgment, the good or bad inclination, of the major and the king's commissary. Many prisoners have no note under these columns.

This book is the invention of the *Sieur Chevalier*, present major, who has had the charge of writing the secret history of this castle from its foundation. He has gone as high as the discoveries he could make from the repository of the archives. When a sheet is finished, it enters this repository, where all is preserved for posterity. There is a keeper of the archives appointed.

Further, in a register are collected all the orders ever given and addressed to the governor of the Bastille, all letters from ministers and from the police. The collection is made with care, and every thing may be found when wanted.

As soon as a prisoner is conducted to the Bastille, the minister who has signed the order, and the king's commissary, are informed by the major of his arrival. In many cases, this officer is before-hand apprized of the arrival of prisoners. Often a particular letter from the king's commissary delivers in a prisoner by anticipation, and he afterwards sends the king's order to the major, who punctually returns him his letter.

When a prisoner who is known and protected has entirely lost his health, and his life is thought in danger, he is always sent out. The ministry do not choose that persons well known should die in the Bastille.\* If a prisoner

\* Some prisoners have perished in the Bastille by secret methods; but instances of this are rare.

does die there, he is interred in the parish of St. Paul, under the name of a domestic; and this falsity is written in the register of deaths, in order to deceive posterity. There is another register in which the true names of the deceased are entered; but it is not without great difficulty that extracts can be procured from it. The commissary of the Bastille must first be informed of the use the family intends to make of the extract.

There are in this castle large magazines, called the *dépôts*. In these are locked up books which have been seized, or the publication of which is stopped.

Whenever the king's commissary (lieutenant of the police) or a minister enters the castle of the Bastille, the guard makes a lane for him, and salutes, and the great gates are opened. The same ceremonial is observed towards the marshals of France. These last alone can enter the castle with their swords on. The dukes and peers have pretended a right to the same distinction. The *Mémoire des Présidens à Mortier du Parlement de Paris* presented to the regent duke of Orleans in 1717, makes mention of it.

No carriages are admitted into the interior part of the castle, but such as bring prisoners, or take them away to other castles or prisons.

M. de Renneville,\* who was confined in the Bastille eleven years and a month, left it 16th June 1713, and retired to England, where he composed two volumes entitled, *L'Inquisition Francoise, ou Histoire de la Bastille*. His book was dedicated to George I. king of England. These  
two

\* René-Auguste Constantin-de Renneville, the youngest of twelve brothers, all military men, seven of whom had been killed in battles for their country, was born at Caën, of a family of distinction originally from the province of Anjou. After having served in quality of an officer, he was sent to several foreign courts to negotiate affairs of importance. On his return to France, he was first commissary to M. de Chamillard. Secret enemies succeeded in rendering



two volumes were printed in twelves, by Stephen Roger at Amsterdam, in 1715, and were translated into English and Flemish. This interesting work is become very rare. It contains the history of different prisoners with whom M. de Renneville had occasion to be acquainted, during his long abode in this castle. The description he gives of places is conformable to the accounts just given; but the regulations of this horrible inquisition have been changed since the beginning of this century.

rendering him suspected, and he was shut up in the Bastille. Although no charge was found against him, he was however confined eleven years and a month (from May 16, 1702, to June 16, 1713.) He affirms that he could never discover the cause of his imprisonment. On his arrival at the castle, he was confined in the first chamber of the *Tour du Coin*, where Henry de Montmorency duke of Luxemburgh, and the marshals Biron and Bassompierre had been lodged. It was in the same chamber that M. le Maître-de Saci, put in the Bastille May 14, 1666 (where he was kept for two years) wrote the greatest part of his translation of the Bible. M. de Renneville cultivated polite literature and poetry. His history is interspersed with fragments, which the best poets of his time would not disavow.

## A N E C D O T E S.

## I.

CHARLES de Gontault duke of Biron, peer, admiral, and marshal of France, governor of Brest, though loaded with favours by Henry IV. treated with the enemies of the state (the Spaniards, and the duke of Savoy) who flattered him with the promise of the dutchy of Burgundy erected into a sovereignty, and Franche-Comté, as a dowry with a daughter of the king of Spain, or of the duke of Savoy. Henry IV. having discovered the conspiracy, spoke of it to Biron, who denied his crime with obstinacy. The parliament of Paris drew up his process. He was found guilty of high treason against his country and his sovereign, and was condemned by an *arrêt* of 29th July 1602, to lose his head, which was put in execution the 31st of the same month, in the inner court of the Bastille. The iron hooks which held his scaffold are still in the walls. It was so contrived, that he walked to it on a platform from his chamber. He was but forty years of age at his death; and was interred in the parish of St. Paul. There are manuscript copies of the *Trial of Charles de Gontault duc de Biron*, in the royal library, and in those of St. Germain-des Près, and of the city of Paris.

## II.

Francis de Bassompierre, marshal of France, born April 2, 1579, always signalized himself by his valour and good conduct. His high reputation giving umbrage to cardinal Richlieu, this minister caused him to be shut up in the Bastille, Feb. 25, 1631. Bassompierre did not recover his liberty till January 19, 1643, at the end of twelve years,  
after

after the death of his enemy. He composed his *Memoirs* in prison, and died in 1646.

## III.

In 1674, the baggage of Louis chevalier de Rohan, grand huntsman of France, having been taken and rummaged in a skirmish, some letters were found which caused a suspicion that he had treated with the English for the surrender of Havre-de-Grace. He was arrested and put into the Bastille. The Sieur de la Tuanderie, his agent, concealed himself. The proof was not sufficient. A commission was named to proceed against the accused for treason. La Tuanderie was discovered at Rouen: an attempt was made to arrest him, but he fired on the assailants, and obliged them to kill him on the spot. Persons attached to the chevalier de Rohan went every evening round the Bastille, crying through a speaking trumpet, *La Tuanderie is dead, and has said nothing*; but the chevalier did not hear them. The commissioners, not being able to get any thing from him, told him, "that the king knew all; that they had proofs, but only wished for his own confession; and that they were authorised to promise him pardon if he would declare the truth." The chevalier, too credulous, confessed the whole. Then the perfidious commissioners changed their language. They said, "that with respect to the pardon, they could not answer for it, but that they had hopes of obtaining it, and would go and solicit it." This they troubled themselves little about, and condemned the criminal to lose his head. He was conducted on a platform to the scaffold, by means of a gallery raised to the height of the window of the armoury in the arsenal, which looks towards the little square at the end of the *rue des Tournelles*. He was beheaded on November 27th, 1674. His trial is in the royal library. See also *Mémoires du Marquis de Beauveau*, Colog. 1688. p. 407.

## IV.

## IV.

The jesuits of the college of *Clermont*, in the *rue St. Jaques*, Paris, having, this same year (1674) invited the king (Louis XIV.) to honour with his presence a tragedy to be performed by their scholars, that prince accepted the invitation. These able courtiers took care to insert in the piece several strokes of flattery, with which the monarch, greedy of such incense, was greatly pleased. When the rector of the college was conducting the king home, a nobleman in the train applauded the success of the tragedy. Louis said, "Do you wonder at it? *this is my college.*" The jesuits did not lose a word of this. The very same night they got engraved in large golden letters on black marble, *Collegium Ludovici Magni*, instead of the former inscription which was placed beneath the name of Jesus on the principal gate of the college (*Collegium Claromontanum Societatis Jesus*); and in the morning the new inscription was put up in place of the old one. A young scholar of quality, aged thirteen, who was witness to the zeal of the reverend fathers, made the two following verses, which he posted up at night on the college gate.

*Abstulit hinc Jesum, posuitque insignia Regis  
Impia gens: alium non colit illa Deum.*

The jesuits did not fail to cry out *sacrilege*: the young author was discovered, taken up, and put into the Bastille. The implacable society caused him, as a matter of *favour*, to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and he was transferred to the citadel of the isle *Sainte Marguerite*. Several years after, he was brought back to the Bastille. In 1705, he had been a prisoner thirty-one years. Having become heir to all his family, who possessed great property, the jesuit Riquelet, then confessor of the Bastille, remonstrated to his brethren on the necessity of restoring the prisoner to liberty. The golden shower which forced the tower of *Danaë*, had the same effect on the castle of the Bastille.

Bastille. The jesuits made a merit with the prisoner of the protection they granted him; and this man of rank, whose family would have become extinct without the aid of the society, did not fail to give them extensive proofs of his gratitude. *M. de Renneville's Preface*, p. 46—48.

## V.

The famous Bastille prisoner, known by the name of the *man in the iron mask*, was lodged in the chamber called the *third Bertaudière*. Nothing was refused him that he asked for: he had the choicest food; and the governor never sat down in his presence. He was obliged always to wear an iron mask; and was forbidden on pain of death to make himself known. These circumstances have given rise to various conjectures. The author of the *Memoires secrets pour servir à l'Histoire de Perse* pretends that the Count de Vermandois, natural son of Louis XIV. and Mademoiselle de la Valiere, and greatly beloved by his father; nearly of the same age with the dauphin, but of a character very opposite to his; had forgot himself so far one day, as to give the dauphin a box on the ear—that this action becoming public, the king had sent him to the army, and given orders to a confidant soon after his arrival to spread a report that he was seized with the plague, in order to keep people from him, and afterwards to report him as dead; and while a splendid funeral was made for him in the sight of the whole army, to conduct him with the utmost secrecy to the citadel of the isle *Sainte Marguerite*; which was done—that the Count de Vermandois was released from this citadel only to be removed to the Bastille (in 1700) when Louis XIV. gave the government of this castle to St. Mars, commandant of the isle, as a return for his fidelity. The same author adds, that the Count de Vermandois one day engraved his name on the bottom of a plate with the point of a knife—that a domestic having discovered it, thought to make his court and obtain a

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reward by carrying the plate to the commandant—but that the poor wretch was deceived; for they got rid of him immediately, in order to prevent the secret from being divulged. Although these *Secret Memoirs* had been published nine years before the first edition of *L'Histoire du Siecle de Louis XIV.* as M. Clément remarks,\* yet M. de Voltaire has advanced that all the historians who wrote before him were ignorant of this fact. He relates it somewhat differently, without naming the Count de Verman-  
dois. He says, that the Marquis de Louvois paying a visit to this unknown prisoner at the isle *Sainte Marguerite*, spoke to him standing, and in a manner demonstrative of respect—that he died at the Bastille in 1704, and was interred at night in the parish of St. Paul.

The author of the *Philippics* (M. de la Grange-Chancel) in his *Lettre à M. Fréron*, pretends that this prisoner was the Duke of Beaufort, who was said to have been killed at the siege of Candy, and whose body could not be found. The cause of the duke's imprisonment, he supposes to have been his restless spirit, the part he took in the tumults at Paris in the time of the *Fronde*, and his opposition, as admiral, to the designs of the minister Colbert in the marine department.

M. Poullain-de Saintfoi combats all these opinions respecting the *man in the iron mask*. He places still later the time of the confinement of this prisoner to the citadel of the isle *Sainte Marguerite*, which M. de Voltaire has fixed at 1661, M. de la Grange-Chancel at 1669, and the author of the *Mémoires Secrets* at the end of 1683. M. de Saintfoi assures us, that this unknown prisoner was the Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II. king of England, and Lucy Walters; who after forming a party in Dorsetshire where he was proclaimed king, and attacking the royal army, was defeated, taken, and brought to London,

\* *Les cinq Années Littéraires*, Lettre XCIX. du 1 Mai 1752, Tom. II.

where he was confined in the Tower, and condemned to be beheaded on July 15, 1685. This writer adds, that a report was current at the time, that an officer in the duke of Monmouth's army, extremely like him in person, who was made prisoner along with him, had the courage to suffer in his stead. He cites *Mr. Hume*, and the *Amours of Charles II. and James II. kings of England*; and remarks, in order to give credit to his opinion, that James II. having reason to fear some revolution which might restore the duke of Monmouth to liberty, thought that though he should grant him his life, he might do it without hazard by sending him into France.

The jesuit Henry Griffet, who was a long time confessor to the prisoners in the Bastille,\* who had turned over all the most secret papers of the archives of this castle, and had doubtless seen the mortuary register which is kept in this depositary, has written a very solid *Dissertation* on this historical problem. This jesuit does not assert that the *man in the iron mask* was the Count de Vermandois, but he collects many probable reasons in favour of this opinion; and his suffrage in this matter appears of great weight.

## VI.

The depositary in the Bastille contains many trunks of papers of the late Duke of Vendôme,† which relate to his history, and that of the wars of Spain, Italy, and Flanders. These

\* The jesuits, after becoming confessors to kings, did not fail to place one of their fraternity in the post of confessor to the Bastille. This office, of little importance in other hands, was in theirs a means of making discoveries which entered into the profound views of their infernal policy. Thus it became hereditary in their society.

† Louis-Joseph duc de Vendôme, de Mercœur, d'Etampes, & de Penthievre, general of the galleys, grand-sénéchal, and governor of Provence, born July 30, 1654, was viceroy, and generalissimo of the armies of Catalonia

These were taken from his natural son, who was his legatee, and who being suspected of having composed the pamphlet entitled *Les trois Maries (ies trois Maillys)* was shut up first in the Bastille, and afterwards removed to Vincennes, where he died. These papers are kept in a moist place, where they will in a short time be decayed or worm-eaten, and posterity will be deprived of these precious materials, which are the only ones of their kind.

## VII.

The Sieur Vaillant, a virtuous priest, but, unfortunately for himself, an appellant from the too famous *bulle*, was kept in the Bastille from 1728 to 1731; and was imprisoned there again in 1734. Some enthusiastical or deluded persons published that "this priest was the prophet Elias, lately descended from heaven—that he was in the Bastille, but would be miraculously delivered from it, and would be put to death." These people were called *Valliantists*. The vexations he was made to undergo, and his austerities, had heated his brain. For some time he thought himself really the prophet Elias. He expected to see himself one day carried off in a fiery whirlwind; and plainly declared as much to the staff-officers. On January 26, 1739, his chimney took fire, and he imagined himself at the instant of his translation; but the fire was extinguished, and he remained under lock and key as before. He then thought himself obliged to declare very seriously in writing to the Sieur Hérault, lieutenant of the police, that "he, Vaillant, was in no sense the prophet Elias; that he did not repre-

and Spain from 1685 to the beginning of this century. In 1702, he was removed to the command of the armies in Italy, where he beat prince Eugene and the Imperialists; and in 1707, he made a campaign in Flanders. He returned three years afterwards into Spain, where he died at Vinaros, June 11, 1712. This man, famous for his military exploits, who was great-grandson to Henry IV. left no other issue than a natural son, whom he made his legatee.

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sent him, nor had even any mission to announce him, or to act or speak in his name." Long solitude had impaired his faculties. Having entered the chapel one Sunday to hear mass, he took possession of the decorations, put on the albe and chasuble, and began mass. Help was called for. The major comes, and tries to interrupt the priest, who goes on: the major opposes—the priest resists—and the two champions seize each other by the collar. This scene for ever deprived the prisoner of the liberty of attending mass. He was afterwards removed to Vincennes, where he died.

## VIII.

Count Lally was near three years in the Bastille. He was of a violent temper. One of his favourite sentiments was, "that he knew no pleasure sweeter than that of revenge, which was truly the pleasure of gods." He said, "the parliament will judge me according to the greatest rigour of the laws, but the king will shew me favour, and will commute my punishment." He was permitted to have a secretary, whom he made wretched by his constant harshness. One day, this secretary, having perceived in the great court a mass of coagulated blood, which had been thrown there through negligence after a person had been blooded, was seized with a fit of terror, thought himself on the point of being executed, and lost his senses. He was removed to Charenton.

The major of the Bastille had orders to conduct Count Lally to the *palace* for the last examination. The first president ordered this officer to take from him the ribband of his order, and the other marks of his dignity. He refused, and it was done by the tipstaffs. When the Count was brought back to the Bastille, the liberty of walking and visiting was taken from him. The officers relieved each other in attendance upon him. His sentence was not put in execution till three or four days after it had been pronounced. During this time, his relations drove about in  
a carriage

a carriage towards the gate *St. Antoine*, and made signals before his window for him to cut his throat; but the prisoner, concentrated in himself, never cast his eyes that way, and thus left the hangman to do what he would otherwise have prevented him in. The major had in charge to carry him back to the *Conciergerie*, and to spend in his chamber the night of horror preceding his execution. There he was reconciled to this officer, for whom he had conceived an aversion. The next day, M. Pasquier, counsellor to the parliament, said to him, "the king is full of goodness, and will certainly shew favour to you, if you will declare what you know concerning your two accomplices, &c." Lally upon this flew into a rage, treated M. Pasquier as a traitor, poured out the grossest abuse against him, and uttered the most horrible imprecations and blasphemies. The magistrate ordered that he should be gagged. Soon after, the confessor came, and the gag was taken out. He appeared to recollect himself, drew out a pair of compasses which he had concealed, and pressed strongly upon them, with the intent of destroying himself. On being perceived, he was disarmed; when he said with an execration, "I have missed my blow." The surgeon found the wound very slight. At length he composed himself, and was confessed. He was executed in May 1766.

Count Lally's family had collected all the circumstances of the execution of the Duke of Biron, and in vain solicited the repetition of them. The family was less earnest to save the person of the criminal, than to recover the immense sums he had remitted to England.

M. de Voltaire has lately published *Fragmens sur l'Inde*, in which he re-judges before his own tribunal the cause of Count Lally, in order to censure the *arrêt* which condemned him. We behold with a contempt mixed with indignation, that this old man, who boasts of loving the truth beyond every thing, and who gives the most secret  
 informations

informations on the trial, as if he had seen the most circumstantial memorials, has only touched upon the pleas offered by the condemned party in his justification. This is sufficient to give M. de Voltaire a handle for declaiming against the parliament of Paris, and for reproaching them at random with occurrences of two hundred years standing, even as far back as the *arrêt in favour of Aristotle*; without having the good sense to reflect, that all honest minds would revolt against that iniquitous baseness, which takes advantage of the dispersion and exile of this body, the victims of their patriotism, in order to insult them without shame. This is indeed the ass's kick, according to the remark of the *Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe*, for the year 1773.

T H E E N D.



